

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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## Department of State

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VERBATIM TEXT

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We have noted Soviets already have raised "subversive" activities issue and discussions have been held on this with representatives from U.S. intelligence community in Europe. It unclear to us how this issue stands and what sequence of events in past few days has been. We would like details about genesis and circumstances of tabling of French paper ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ which addresses itself directly to this problem.

Counter-attacks on worldwide "hostile" and "subversive" activities of Soviets should convey to them that their use of this line of argument regarding West Berlin will not be conducive to an adjustment on Berlin. We think it advantageous tactically to press Soviets in this way.

Special group, which has been working on above aspect of Berlin crisis, has developed position paper which prepared for contingency that East-West negotiations would fail reach agreement on All-German problem and ultimately would boil down to effort achieve limited interim Berlin settlement roughly as envisaged in FMG D - I/8.

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Following position paper has been reviewed by Bob Murphy

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BEGIN VERBATIM TEXT

Western Activities in Berlin considered QUOTE Hostile UNQUOTE  
or QUOTE Subversive UNQUOTE by the Soviets

Anticipated Soviet Position

The Soviets have raised the issue that the Western powers take  
advantage of their position in Berlin to conduct QUOTE cold war UNQUOTE  
activities against the GDR and against the Soviet bloc. The Soviets use  
the words

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[QUOTE hostile UNQUOTE and QUOTE subversive UNQUOTE to describe activities which they would like to see brought to an end in West Berlin. The main activities in West Berlin to which the Soviets apply these words probably are RIAS, the reception and intelligence and exploitation of refugees, propaganda and disruptive activities by anti-communist organizations. After the presence of western military forces in Berlin, the Soviets probably consider these activities most detrimental to the consolidation of Communist rule in the GDR. They probably will argue that the GDR can not tolerate organizations at the heart of its territory working for its overthrow.

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In addition to activities directed against the GDR, the Soviets also would like to see eliminated activities directed against the USSR, parts of the USSR/ (e.g. Baltic States), and the satellites which takes place in West Berlin. The recent protest over Radio

QUOTE Baltika UNQUOTE may be designed to make this point. The Soviets also may extend their argument to include activities located in West Germany and elsewhere, such as ~~these arguments to include activities located in West Germany and elsewhere, such as Amconlib and RFE.~~

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Recommended U.S. Position

We should maintain that what the Soviets regard as QUOTE hostile UNQUOTE and QUOTE subversive UNQUOTE activities are the normal responses of a vigorous and democratic society to the threat which the Soviets themselves present. These activities involve the rights of association and free speech. We should take the position that our rights to permit such activity and to disseminate propaganda in Berlin are non-negotiable.

We should also continually remind the Soviets that they are in a poor position to complain about QUOTE hostile UNQUOTE and QUOTE subversive UNQUOTE activities in view of their own record in this field.

While we cannot accept any limitations on our right to permit political activity in the part of Berlin we occupy, we could indicate to the Soviets that we could discuss with them the type of activities to which they object and which on a mutual basis both sides would agree to control. This should include not only activities originating in West and East Berlin but also all activities directed against east or west Berlin whenever they originate. Otherwise they could merely move activities in East Berlin to say Potsdam or a new area in immediate vicinity of Berlin. (Purpose of this language would be to make Soviets out on what they mean by QUOTE hostile and subversive UNQUOTE.)

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If the Soviets show interest in such mutual limitations, we could modify our activity in the areas which cause concern to the Soviets as follows:

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3. Propaganda. RIAS is the main source of information on the free world for the East Germans and is an important morale factor for the West Berliners. It would be very damaging to US interests to agree to any abandonment of RIAS or to change its physical location.

Likewise, we should not agree to restrictions on the operations of Amerika Haus and USIS in West Berlin, mainly because such restrictions would seriously damage the morale of the West Berliners, but also because we would be giving up valuable propaganda assets.

There are no physical assets <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ RFE and Amcomlib in West Berlin. To discontinue broadcasts of these organizations from West Germany and elsewhere would undoubtedly entail the loss of assets which would be very difficult to reestablish or reassemble. Discontinuance would also constitute a ~~physical~~ psychological blow to the peoples of East Europe.

If the Soviets ask that we eliminate or curtail propaganda activities we should not contemplate giving up any of the above facilities. We could, however, agree to moderate Berlin-based propaganda directed at the GDR and the Soviet Bloc if the Soviets would agree to stop jamming

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RIAS broadcasts and to ~~MODERATE~~ moderating their propaganda against the Federal Republic and the West.

If the Soviets ask what this renunciation would entail we could - as mentioned under 2) above discuss radio transmission in West Berlin of the Baltika type using unauthorized frequencies with a view to correcting any eventual abuses.

4. Refugees. If the Soviets request the closure of the Marienfeld<sup>e</sup> Refugee Reception Center or the reception of refugees from the GDR in West Berlin we would flatly refuse. We could, however, tell the Soviets that we do not and will not encourage the refugee flow although we would have to make it clear we could never refuse to receive refugees. We should not discuss with Soviets but will set up working group to study a UN role in the refugee reception center as proposed in the four-power working group. (Note: In view of the fact that the reception and care of refugees is a West German-Berlin concern, consultation with the Federal Republic is indispensable.) END VERBATIM-TEXT DILLON!

*Dillon*  
ACTING

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